FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FROM: [illegible]

To: Department of State, Washington, D.C.

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Subject: [illegible] January 20, 1950.

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come. Apparently one of the leaders' first decisions was not to try to nominate a labor candidate for President in this assembly, Pinto Usaga himself being credited with denying the nomination plan so freely predicted around the time of the CPF convention.

An agenda for the imminent assembly has been prepared, which includes "election of the workers' national political committee". (This may mean simply that the present committee by that name is considered provisional until the assembly's vote of confirmation). The organizational committee will preside over the assembly, which is to take place in the Teatro América, one of the smaller motion-picture theaters in Guatemala city.

For the Chargé d' Affaires, a.i.

Kenedon P. Steins,
Third Secretary of Embassy

Enclosures:

1. Unclassified translation, excerpts from Pinto Usaga's report to CPF convention.

2. Unclassified translation, excerpts from the Charter of the Workers.

Copy to Guatemala Desk Officer.

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Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 73 from American Embassy, Guatemala, dated January 20, 1950.

FROM THE CONVENTION OF THE C.P.F.

REPORT OF THE POLITICAL RAILROAD CONVENTION

by Manuel Pinto Usaga

The Railroad Political Committee has designated me to present the central report of this night in which is being realized the great political event of the year, of great revolutionary meaning and democratic affirmation.....

The CPF has not been born in a climate of electoral fever, but in the necessity for class struggle of one of the most important sectors of the national proletariat.....

This attitude of independent action of the CPF and like it, that of the workers' political committees which at present arise impetuously, should not be interpreted as a sectarian attitude, as a deviation to the left which desires to isolate the workers and the field-hands from the forces of advancement of the people of Guatemala. On the contrary, the workers' political unity is the onlyone which can guarantee an effective alliance of the progressive sectors of the country, a correct policy of national unity on a platform of common interests and with due respect to partisan interests, as long as they do not harm popular interests.....

But if we are intransigent toward deviations to the left, with more reason we are that way with those to the right, which consist of the belief that the country cannot progress except with the aid of foreign capital, of attributing a fatalistic omnipotence to international monopolies, thus incapacitating the struggle for national liberation, disarming the masses before the most bloody enemy of our social conquests, which is the imperialism which deforms our economy and anihilates our nationality.

We understand that our whole platform of struggle fundamentally should rotate around the postulates of the agrarian and anti-imperialistic Revolution; Agrarian Reform and struggle against the international monopolies, postulates which correspond to the historic

moment of Guatemala. And in that sense, of the candidate to whom we lend all revolutionary strength, we demand an attitude of absolute identification with our principles.

The most important factor of the present situation in Guatemala, the historic fact which is weighing decisively in the future of the Revolution, is the vigorous growth of the movement of the masses. None of the proceedings practiced by the oppressing classes and by their lackeys: demagoguey, anti-communist propaganda, divisionism, et cetera, has been able to detain the growing mobilization of the working class and of the people. It is true that in the daily struggle with the forces of the past, the workers have not only run afoul of the native bosses, but have also had to confront openly the agents of imperialism firmly entrenched in our country.

..... Our struggle of today, our combat for the interests of the country and of the laboring masses; our continued denouncement of the oppressive plans of the anti-Guatemalan exploiters and of the magnates of imperialism; our propaganda in favor of the workers' and the people's demands and against the crisis and the maneouvers of the reactionary politicians, will facilitate the uniting in a group of the progressive sectors and the integration of the revolutionary Unity of the masses.....

The just and general tactic which will be adopted by the political committees of the workers will consist of breaking the divisory maneouvers of the reaction and of the false revolutionaries who have worked themselves into the democratic parties, in stimulating and strengthening the struggleof the anti-imperialist forces, and in unifying the progressive groups. We propose to bring about the total unification of the masses and the discussion and acceptance of a proposition and of a program, on whose base all men and women of the nation can unite, not only as election objectives but as iron-clad units in function of liberation. Along general lines, we shall apply the tactic of deepening the popular opposition to the policy of subordination to the dictates of imperialism which characterizes the remnants of the native reaction, to promote the progressive

and democratic unity which is indispensable against the crisis that menacingly arises and in defense of the popular will.....

It is imperative that the parties of the Revolution suppress their differences of form and seek the common denominators, which can be no others but those proposed by us in the CHARTER OF THE WORKERS, if they really wish to interpret the feeling of the masses, if they really are patriots and have an interest in saving the Revolution of October by means of a presidential succession which will follow the brilliant democratic trajectory of the present Government regime.....

We understand by national Unity, not an abstract watchword, but a practical base for struggle. Not a skill for accidental or electoral ends, but essentials for democratic supremacy. The reaction, knowing that it can no longer win with a candidate of its old guard, discredited by Ubico-Poncism, now finances one with revolutionary apperances but who DOES NOT STEM FROM POPULAR PRONOUNCEMENT, WHO DEFIES PARTY DISCIPLINE, TO SUBTRACT STRENGTH FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY BLOC. For that reason we should be concrete in our objectives, because all vagueness or false ideological appreciation can leave the door open so that the astute and fickle politicians can make demagogic promises in an apparent flirtation with the lefts and rights, but in reality serving the forces of the native reaction and of the imperialism which finance their opportunistic campaign.

The lack of political organizations of the people has made impossible the task of clarifying to the masses the mistaken belief that everyone who was against dictatorship is a revolutionary. Undoubtedly those who were against ESTRADA Cabrera, ORELLANA, UBICO or PONCE, had the correct approach, but such an attitude, justified in those circumstances, in no manner may be taken as a charter of revolutionary citizenship. On the contrary, the five years of democratic processes lived since the Revolution of October have given to the people the great opportunity to qualify and locate each public figure in his corresponding place. How many of the "revolutionaries" of 1944 are already found

in the groups of the most rancid reaction or in the vacilating parties!.....

Our fortresses are the factories and we should direct our attention to them. The great agricultural centers where thousands of comrades work who form that branch of the proletariat. The big nucleuses of the field-hands without lands who still work in the condition of serfs. But we shall not stop there, as we must also pay attention to other sectors of the exploited population, made up of thousands of salaried workers. It is necessary to insist that the political committee of workshop, factory or zone should be aware of the problems of the masses which will intervene in the political struggle, in order to orient and direct them.....

For Guatemalan reasons, with Guatemalan methods, we should arouse this popular mobilization in all the Republic, particularly in the interior, WITHOUT LOSING SIGHT OF OUR CENTRAL ENDS, which are based on the feudal physiognomy of Guatemala for the suppression of which we propose AGRARIAN REFORM and struggle against the intervention in our internal politics of the international monopolies which contribute towards the maintenance of this physiognomy for the exclusive benefit of the absentee-landlord bosses and of the agents of imperialism.

ON WHAT FORCES DO WE COUNT? WHAT ALLIANCES SHOULD WE ACCEPT?

In the first place we should be able to count on the affiliates of the Railroader's Political Committee in the entire country, as follows: Puerto Barrios, Zacapa, Chiquimula, Escuintla, San José, Mazatenango, Tiquisate, Retalhuleu, Ayutla.

In the second place, with the organizational capacity of the workers' political committees of all the unions, which can have a very important influence in favor of our objectives ALWAYS ON THE BASIS OF THE CHARTER OF THE WORKERS AS THE ONLY POLITICAL ONE WHICH GATHERS TOGETHER THE MOST INFLUENTIAL FORCES.....

The CPF and the workers' political committees should make an intensive effort to attract female workers, mothers

wives, sisters, and daughters of the workers, the proletarian woman in general, signing them up immediately, and making it easy for them to vote in favor of our candidate, who will be the candiate of the people, th s avoiding that they again become victims of the confessional watchwords and of the pressures of the prevailing situation.....

The workers' political committees should preoccupy themselves especially with endeavoring to awaken the revolutionary conscience of the proletarian women.

In the third place, the necessity should be implanted for going to the field-laborer masses with perfectly organized teamwork, ideologically oriented, expert in the struggle and which clearly understands which are the bases of agrarian Reform an' what this revolutionary end signifies in order to raise this banner of struggle AND WIN THE COLONISTS, THE FIELD HANDS, THE RURAL SEMI-PROLETARIANS WHO SUFFER FROM LACK OF LANDS, EXORBITANT RENTS AND SERVILE EXPLOITATION. With this same tactic may be won the indigenous masses in their own nucleuses, speaking to them in their own wo ds, in their tongues, and including the issuance of short pamphlets in the various dialects, to succeed in making a real penetration into these important parts of the population. This struggle will be made easier by constituting specific organisms of the field-laborers.

In the fourth place, it is necessary to make an effective effort for attracting the orking and country youth, mobilizing it with its legitimate cultural and artistic aspirations.....

Alliance with the political parties of importance, can help us in these common tasks, mobilizing at the same time the intellectual sectors of the middle class, profe.sional men, progressive industrialists and other elements of proven consequence and which coincide with our struggles.

We are not being financed by foreign companies nor by the absentee landlords. We count exclusively

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on our proletarian pennies and with them we should make our popular campaign - unique in our history - investing more patriotic consicience, more capacity for sacrifice than that which has been shown to date.

WHAT ARE WE SEEKING?

To bring about the democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialistic revolution, together with the consequential parties, to consolidate thisregime of social justice. A Government which will take advantage of the resources of the country for the good of the people; which will transform it, which will develop the economic production, which will industrialize Guatemala to raise the standard of living, to augment the resources of the State, and that this latter may attend efficiently to the public services and strengthen the bases to emancipate the Nation with respect to outside forces. A new Government following the trajectory of the Revolution of October, a Government which will continue the work of President AREVALO.

It is all a program for the economic development of Guatemala towards capitalism, towards the development of new productive forces, in which are interested we the workers, the sectors of the middle class and the consequential elements of national capital, knowing that it favors their own class development. For that we have to put into motion the forces of the people, raise their fighting spirit, grouping around the candidate who represents the people's line, against the candidate or candidates who represent the line of the foreign companies, of the absentee plantation-owners and of the lawyers - enemies of the people - who serve native reaction and imperialist reaction.

..... Our independent struggle is just, it is no deviation to the left, nor does it signify that we are trying to break the unity of the parties, which should continue their natural evolution and comply with their historical mission. But as the workers constitute a new force in history, we must orient our own battles to prevent deviations to the right and pro-imperialist flirtations which endanger our sovereignty, and to prevent opportunism from developing in the revolutionary ranks.

..... Progressive Guatemalans, patriots disposed to defend the Revolution of October and the independence

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of our beloved Guatemala, support and defend the Charter of the Workers, legitimate document of the people and foundation of the agrarian and anti-imperialist Revolution.

LONG LIVE FREE GUATEMALA!

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Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 73 from American Embassy, Guatemala, dated January 20, 1950.

CHARTER OF THE WORKERS

(In italics) We who take in and express the historical necessities of the workers and of the people of Guatemala, with the authority which our organized force and revolutionary devolution have conferred on us, make patent the ideological principles which govern the conduct of labor and our concrete opinion concerning the proolems of the Presidential succession.

WE HAVE LEARNED that in order to contend in the political jousts, we, the workers, should be backed by a clear program along practical lines, on which should be based every electoral understanding or commitment.....

WE PROCLAIM that the working class, resplendent in patriotism and combativity, has come out free from corruptions after five years of revolutionary testing, is in a position to decide its own destinies, trusts more in its organized base, in its aptitude for struggle, in its fine collective sensitivity which orients it in political battles and impels it to reject petty dictatorship in any of its manifestations.

..... For the next electoral period we want a normal Government, popular and of democratic responsibility, with the cooperation of a Congress designated by the free sovereignty of the people; an Army comitted to and respectful of the Constitution of the Republic; tribunals of justice impatient of subornation and blackmail and with a new concept of social justice.

WE PROPOSE a pdicy of democratic coalition of great breadth, which will give to our country progress, growth, well being and a good name internationally.....

REVOLUTIONARY UNITY

TO DIVIDE in the face of a cunning and capricious enemy is a NATIONAL TREACHERY. The watchword REVOLUTIONARY UNITY is just as the uniting of all Guatemalan energies against the enemies of democracy and progress.....

THE STRUGGLE TO CENTRALIZE politically and syndically the workers should not be construed simply as a defense of our class interests, but to fortify national

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Unity, e democratic institutions and comply with th lates of the Revolution of October, with its d agrarian and anti-imperialist perspective.

AGRARIAN REFORM

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ERECT a real democracy on a base of backward feudalism which curbs the expansion of advanced productive forces..... We demand a stable Government, supported by the forces of the people, capable of bringing about AGRARIAN REFORM AS THE CENTRAL TASK OF ITS GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAM.

Effecting agrarian Reform signifies modernizing, mechanizing agricultural methods, developing national industry by refining the raw materials of the country; substantially bettering the living conditions of the working people, increasing their wellbeing and their cultural level. It signifies having a practical base ffor struggle against imperialist penetration, assuring economic independence and defending national sovereignty.

On proposing agrarian reform we offer the best solution to the enormous problems which the country will face very soon. The economists do not possess any particular formula for saving us from hunger, misery, unemployment and other ills which the crisis, whose signs are certain and imminent, will bring with it. Only agrarian Reform, which will do away with absentee-ownership, furnish lands, tools, seed and easy credit to the field laborers, can assure food and shelter for the people, can give us strength to resist the rigors of the capitalist world crisis, as the simple laboring peoples which we are, tied to the earth.....

..... The economic blockade of the crisis could make us fall into the trap of the Little Marshall Plan with a mortgage on our sovereignty, if we do not have sufficient courage to effect AGRARIAN REFORM, central problem of the struggle for national liberation.

The conditions of serfdom which survive in the country, the ignominious exploitation to which the

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most extensive part of the field-hands are subjected, constitute obstacles to the establishment of a national industry and to agricultural diversification. Absentee-ownership not only suffocates and oppresses the field-hand, but also curbs the progress and the development of the country. Agrarian Reform implies struggle against a monopoly on lands, abusive rents, the tax on crops, the ignorance and the backwardness of the field-hand masses which constitute the majority of the population; who live badly, not in order to conserve the old traditions, as is supposed, but because they find themselves isolated, without communications, without schools, without medical attention, in badly constructed hovels, undermined by insanitary conditions and collective adversities. No more dislodging of field-hands! No more feudal exploitation! We do not want a false agrarian Reform by means of which the absentee-owners will continue to exploit the field-hands!

INDIGENOUS GROUPS

WE PROCLAIM, as our basic objective, struggle for complete equality of rights and economic, cultural, social and political opportunities for the indigenous groups, affirming the full unity and definite integration of Guatemalan nationality. The indigenous groups do not constitute inferior races..... The problem of indigenous inequality stems from the oppressive conditions which prevail in the country which maintain the agrarian static and the primitive consumer economy. With all due respect for the opinion of the students of the indigenous problem, we do not believe that this is essentially a question of linguistic efforts, although we do not deny their importance. In order that the indigenous groups may find their historical outcome, we should transform the entire agricultural system by means of Agrarian Reform, offer them the lands which have been taken away from them, offer them practical justice and not limit ourselves to the theoretical proposition of respect for the language, for customs and for traditions. Social dynamics bind the Indian to the learning of Spanish when he goes to the market, when he has relations with other groups and makes exchange of his products. But if he produces nothing, nothing can he sell; he is

condemned to misery and cannot interest himself in our language in spite of cultural efforts.....

OUR SYMPATHY TOWARD THE ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION

We the workers feel profound respect and sympathy for the Army of the Revolution. Alienating the Army and the People has been a reactionary watchword which has not been able to prosper nor will it do so.. ... We have faith and confidence in our Army which will guarantee us, with its loyalty, free elections which will strengthen even more our fraternal bonds.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

WE DEFEND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, the right of all religions to their beliefs and the right of each citizen to profess the religion which to him seems the best, or not to profess any. We are against all religious persecution and respectful of the religious sentiment of the masses; but we will not permit that this high sentiment be corrupted, perverted by anti-national political ends, which only seek to sow dissention and make common cause with the enemies of our liberty..... We denounce those who, taking advantage of their clerical garb, use the pulpit and the churches to spread anti-democratic propaganda in favor of the enemies of the people.

FEMINEE VINDICATIONS

WE DEFEND the democratic principle of EQUAL WORK, equal salary, this being a genuine feminine vindication. We will struggle to elevate women to well deserved heights of dignity and respect.....

YOUTH IN DEFENSE OF CULTURE

YOUTH, propulsive force of progress, passionately devoted to the ideals of justice, militates among our revolutionaries..... We support and defend the cultural demands of youth. In the six-year plan of the new Government, we should find ensconced efforts to educate and teach the masses by means of intensive literacy campaigns, creation of schools and institutions of higher learning; centers of art and culture

and an autonomous University which the people can effectively reach.

FOR PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

As regards foreign policy we shall struggle for peace and freindship of nations; for the loyal and clean solidarity of Guatemala with the United Nations and sincere cooperation with the world forces of peace. We shall defend the principle of self-determination of peoples to trace their own destinies and choose the Government which corresponds to the grade of their historic evolution. We feel the same sentiments as those oppressed peoples of the world.

WE SUPPORT AND DEFEND the advanced policy of the Revolution of October, from its efforts to recover our territory of Belize, to its positive anti-imperialist struggle in international conclaves..... We desire that Guatemalan intransigence be kept firm against the regimes of national treachery which oppress the peoples and against anti-democratic interests conspirators of international unity. This revolutionary foreign policy, which has all the backing of the people, should raise itself more firmly and more decisively to resist the imperialist assault which wishes to bind us by means of hemispheric pacts, defensive to it, but offensive to our people and to national integrity.....

..... We are patriots. They are not patriots who advocate the turning-over of the country to foreign enterprises nor those who ask for our blood for an unjust war!.....